

T O R I E S

A N D

Tozy Principles

Ruinous to both

PRINCE and PEOPLE.

B E I N G

A Specimen of the Inconsistency of their Pretended Principles and Real Practices.

*Let us for the Gods a Gift prepare,
Which the Great Man's Great Charges cannot bear:
A Soul, where Laws both Humane and Divine,
In Practice more than Speculation shine,
A genuine Virtue, of a vigorous Kind,
Pure in the last Recesses of the Mind:*

Dryden's Translation of Persius, Sat. 2.

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T O R I E S

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Tory Principles

Ruinous to both

PRINCE and PEOPLE, &c.

IT is a receiv'd Opinion among a great Part of Mankind, that there are some Things so unfortunate and fatal, as to communicate their destructive and pernicious Effects, that is, to be the Bane and Ruin of all those who possess or have to do with them. Whether such Events are meerly accidental, or guided by a more immediate Providence is hard to determine, and not requisite to the matter in Hand. Men of loose Principles assign all to Chance, and the more religious endeavour to perswade, that even the most inconsiderable Transactions come directly from the Disposition of the Supreme Being. When the Fatality, or ill Fortune here spoken of, seems to be

annex'd to brute Beasts, as in the Case of *Sejanus's* Horse, or to Things inanimate, as the Gold of *Toulouse*, the Calamities observ'd to follow them wheresoever they are, must certainly proceed from other Causes, than any natural Influence there can be in such Beasts or Things; but when they are the Concomitants of rational Creatures, there is no Question to be made, but that either their own Wickedness, or want of Sense, are the true Occasions of the Disasters and Misfortunes that attend them.

Having mention'd *Sejanus's* Horse, and the Gold of *Toulouse*, two famous ancient Instances of Things destructive to their Possessors, it will be proper to give some Account of them, beginning with the first.

Aulus Gellius in the third Book of his *Attick Nights*, *Cayus Bassianus*, *Julius Modestus*, and other Authors have writ concerning this Horse, and are here mention'd, that the Story may not be look'd upon as a Fable, they deliver it to this Effect. When *Hercules*, the *Theban*, had slain *Diomedes* in *Thrace*, he brought back with him into *Greece* the breed of Horses belonging to the said *Diomedes*, which were naturally of a beautiful Colour,

lout, of a large Size, very gentle, and at the same time extraordinary bold. Of this breed came a Horse, in the Province of *Argos*, high necked, his Main hanging down almost to the Ground, his Nostrils wide, sure footed, clean limb'd, full buttock'd, his Tail long, his Eyes large, his Hair soft, the colour Bay, and he perfectly undaunted. Whilst yet a Colt many Persons flock'd from *Asia*, from *Thrbes*, from *Pentapolis*, and all Parts of *Greece*, some only to see, others to buy, and others to draw his Picture; all Men desiring at least to see, if they could not be Masters of so beautiful a Creature. However, there being nothing in this World so perfect, but that there is some Fault or Blemish in it, this Horse had such a cursed Fate attending him, that all those who bred, bought or mounted him, came to miserable and unhappy Ends. In the Year of *Rome* 713, *Quintus Cincinnatus*, being dead, the Romans sent *Cneius Sejanus* Proconsul into *Greece*, a Man nobly descended, and in good Reputation. At the time of his going into *Greece*, that Horse was yet a Colt, but two Years and a half Old, which he bought, broke and first made Use of. This *Cneius Sejanus* having sided with

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Octavianus Augustus, in *Rome*, *Marc Antony* caus'd his Head to be struck off, and his Body to lye unbury'd, a Year after his going over into *Greece*, and not full six Months after he had bought the Horse. This *Sejanus* being the first that bought the Horse, he afterwards was known by his Name. *Dolabella* succeeded *Sejanus* in the Proconsulship, and immediately purchas'd the Horse at the Price of 6000 Sesterces. Authors vary so much about the Value of this Coin, that I will not pretend to say what it amounted to in *English*; but only observe that it was then look'd upon as a most exorbitant Rate. Within a Year after *Dolabella* had bought this Horse, there happen'd a Mutiny at the Place where he resided, in which he was kill'd and dragg'd thro' the Streets. Next the Horse was bought by *Caius Cassius*, who *Plutarch* informs us had pass'd through the Prime Employments in *Rome*, and perform'd great Actions in *Asia*. Within less than two Years after he had the Horse, he, his Wife and Children were all Poison'd, in such Manner, that they dy'd the same Hour. Next to *Cassius* the famous *Marc Antony* was Master of the Horse, and so highly pleas'd with his Bea-

Beauty, that he gave the Person that brought him, as much as the Price he had cost. It was not above two Months after, that *Antony* fought the known Sea Battel with *Octavianus Augustus*, wherein he was defeated, and soon after dy'd miserably. The Horse being then old, was bought cheap by *Nigidius*, a Roman Man of Quality in *Asia*, who within a Year passing the River *Marathon*, the unlucky Horse stumbled and fell, so that both he, and his Master were drown'd. Thus we see five successive Masters of that unfortunate Beast, viz. *Sejanus*, *Dolabella*, *Cassius*, *Marc Antony* and *Nigidius*, came to unfortunate Ends; and hence it grew into a Proverb in *Asia*, when any Man prov'd extraordinary unfortunate, to say, he had been Master of *Sejanus's* Horse.

As for the Gold of *Toulouse*, it was the Wealth of the Temples in that City, plunder'd by the Souldiers, when *Scipio* took the Place by Force; for it was an Observation, that all those who had taken any of that Treasure, perish'd within a Year, and not only they, but their whole Families with them. And hence also came the Proverb apply'd to all unhappy People, that they had some of the Gold of *Toulouse*.

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Many more Instances of this sort might be brought, but it is time to come to the Subject in Hand, which is to show there has been for many Years, and is at this Day, a set of Men who have always been undoing themselves, and prov'd the Ruin of those they have pretended to support, and who have had the Misfortune to confide in them. This has not been the Effect of Chance, nor needs it be carry'd up so high as to look upon it as the immediate Work of Heaven, which it is well known has given Men Reason to govern themselves, and to use such proper Means as may produce Good, and prevent Evil. But these poor Wretches here spoken of began in Weakness, and have ever gone on declining, till they have almost lost the rational Part, and become altogether Inconsistent with themselves, and having pull'd down their own Supporters, have crush'd themselves, are become the object of Scorn, live unhappily, and dye unpitty'd, being fallen so low, as to be past all Hopes of ever rising again. They have several Times been on the Top of *Fortune's* Wheel, yet could never fix it so as to hold that Station for any Time, not for want of Strength and Numbers, but through a

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Deficiency in point of Honesty, of Judgment, of Courage, of Forecast, and of all those Qualifications which are requisite for carrying on of great Designs, for subduing of Enemies, for preserving of what has been gain'd, and for procuring and encouraging of Friends. These People have the Misfortune of being Purblind; for as is usually said of them, they do not see above an Inch beyond their Noses, and the Misfortune is, that no sort of Spectacles that were ever as yet invented will help them; the natural Infirmary in their Eyes is such as no Oculist can, nor no Glass give the least Assistance to. This unhappy Blindness is one great Cause of their Ruin, for though a Man has attempted never so often to cut their Throats, they know not the next Time they meet, whether he is a Friend or an Enemy; but if they can perceive he Bows to or Smiles on them, immediately conclude him wholly devoted to their Service.

Their Ears are no better than their Eyes, in so much that they can scarce hear the Noise of Drums and Trumpets, beating and sounding to Arms, which gives their Adversaries all the Opportunities in the World to surprize them. As to their Scent they are so far from smel-

ling a Rat, that you may burn a whole Barrel of Gunpowder in wild Fire under their Noses, and they ne're the Wiser. Their feeling is of such an unaccountable Nature, that if their best Friends do but accidentally and lightly tread upon their Toes, their Cries are so loud as to be heard, not only throughout their own, but even into the Neighbouring Nations, and nothing can Attone for the imaginary Offence, but the utter Destruction of all those they can suspect to have any way contributed towards it. However, notwithstanding all this seeming Sensibility, they are so entirely numm'd, as not to perceive those they seem to have the greatest Aversion for, tearing off their Limbs, and pressing them down, till being quite maim'd and unable to rise under their Burden, they make some vain Efforts to recover themselves. All the Taste they have left is of no other Use than to distinguish betwixt *French Claret*, and *Port*, and betwixt *October Beer*, and poor common Ale. Thus much of their Bodily Senses.

As to the Faculties of the Soul, for Souls they are allow'd, to have like all other living Creatures, tho' some have been so bold as to affirm they have more of the Animal than of the Rational. Be that

that as it will, it is visible enough that all Animals have more Inclination to one thing than to another, which is a sort of Will; that they remember as much as is necessary for their Well Being, and sometimes for Revenge, or Gratitude, appears by daily Instances, and so far they may be said to have Memory; lastly, we see among the tame Domestick Creatures an extraordinary Docility, and no less Readiness to perform what is taught and commanded by such as have the Disposal of them, generally call'd Sense, or Instinct, yet seems to be a smaller Measure of Understanding. The learn'd may give these Qualities what Names they please, yet cannot deny them to have some near Relation to the Faculties of human Souls, which even in Men are in a higher, or a lower Degree, as is plain enough in those we are now speaking of.

They have certainly a Will which is never steady, but when it is to work their own undoing, or to do mischief to those who have no way deserv'd it from them; and at all other Times, and in other Respects variable and uncertain, never fixing upon any Point. Love and Hatred, the two opposite Parts in the Will, are as unaccountable in them as other

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Things, they court, cherish and embrace those they know to be their most dangerous Opposites, and rail at, spurn and trample on those they can have no Cause to suspect or apprehend.

Their Memory is in all Respects suitable to what has been said of their Will. They remember and tell abundance of Stories, some true, some Chimerical, of bloody Designs and Actions of their Enemies, of their own Heroick Exploits, and of the dreadful Sufferings they have undergone on Account of those glorious Principles they never thought fit to put in Practice; but at the same time they forget to be grateful to their best Friends, to avoid the Snares of those who are working to destroy them, and to correct those Errors which have been at other Times fatal to them.

The Understanding is in them most miserably deprav'd, so that they always run in Herds where any one, who is but thought to be of their Party leads, though it be to a certain Precipice, without the least Forecast, or Consideration. Hence it is, that whensoever rais'd by Fortune, which has several Times put the Power of Government into their own Hands, a Height they could never ascend to by
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downright Valour or Conduct, they have always stood tottering and unsteady, and consequently been cast down headlong with the greatest Ease imaginable. All their Politicks consist in Noise and Clamour, by which means they sometimes carry a Point, provided they be very much superior in Numbers; for if the Balance be any thing equal, they are sure to lose it. Throw but a new Opera, or a Bear-bating in their way when they are upon the greatest Affairs of State, and though their All depends upon it, they quit that *All* for the darling Recreation. If a Debate is spun out in length, as is frequently done by such as know their Humour, away they sink either to the Tavern, or to the Mistress; for those weighty Concerns are not to be neglected for the Welfare of a Nation. They are so far from pretending to the Spirit of Prophecy, that they cannot foresee the natural Consequences of Things. When they are playing the loosest Game, let but a slanderer presume to represent the inevitable Hazards they are exposing themselves to, the best natur'd of them shall turn his prudent Precautions into ridicule, and the most austere contrive his Ruin, as a dangerous Person, who has ill

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Designs, because they are incapable of understanding what is for their own Good. Some few of them read Books of Pleasure and Diversion, seldom any of Use or Instruction ; but none of them ever learn'd to read Men ; whence it follows that they ever cherish their most desperate Enemies, and persecute their best Friends. He who honestly shows them their Faults, discovers their Errors, and Cautions them against impending Destruction, is the worst of Men in their Esteem ; but he who Applauds all their Follies, diverts them from the Slavery of Business, and Drinks all their Healths, is ever their greatest Darling, tho' at the same time he is but a Spy upon their Actions to expose them, and undermining the Ground they stand on to blow them up. Being thus easily supplanted, all their Glory vanishes in Smoak, their Grandeur is turn'd into Dejection, and all they have left to say for themselves, is with the Wise Man, *Who would have thought it ?*

When depress'd it is pleasant to observe them, some over their Bottles of *French Claret*, others over their Pots of Ale, carrying on their Grand Designs, governing not only the Nation, but the Universe, and insulting over those who
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have taken the Power out of their Hands. In these Places they fancy they can carry all before them, inspir'd with Liquor are fill'd with Heroick Resolutions, and going home thus elevated with Fumes, after a Night's Sleep, forget all their mighty Machinations, or else find them to be impracticable, and have the Satisfaction of laying down new Schemes, to as little purpose as the former. The Heads of the Party, if they have Interest enough to become Senators, making use of the Liberty of Speech allow'd them, exert their babbling Talent, in long Speeches to no purpose, complaining of Grievances, railing at Ministers, and finding Fault with all that is done by their Adversaries, till, if they happen to be Persons of any tolerable Capacity, their Mouths are stop'd with some Place of Profit, and then all Things are as they should be, the Grievances are redress'd, the Ministers are Angels, and all their former Enemies can do is just beyond Exception. The Underlings, in the mean time, range about, from Club to Club, and from Shop to Shop, magnifying their zealous Chiefs, as long as they continue such, cursing the Deserters, and collecting of Votes to do nothing. Others insinuate

quate themselves into the Acquaintance of the Servants of some of the great Men in Power, who silyly tell them some Comfortable Lyes, which they spread abroad, as from the Mouths of the Masters, fathering the Inventions of Knaveish Valets and Footmen on Prime Ministers and Secretaries of State, and thereby gaining the Reputation of being Men of great Intelligence, and familiar with those at the *Helm*. If one of these happens to have but a Smile from a Politick Courtier, he makes no longer doubt of his being in the same Interest with him, and if he has but a good Morrow from him, that is looked upon as a positive Demonstration of his being imbarck'd in the same Cause, and thus puffed up with senseless Notions, he hastes to unburden himself of that weight of Favour and good News to the Assemblies of his Gang, where his Advice is greedily listned to, his groundless Chimera's believ'd above the Gospel, and himself respected like a singular Favourite.

Among all these Creatures there is none more absurd than the Wretch who sets up for the Title of a Patriot, for he is certainly true to no Party, nor consistent with himself; but after having
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made much Noise, and perhaps been courted by both Sides, is at last discovered, and becomes the scorn of both. To be thought a Patriot, he must do something extraordinary, and the more extravagant still the better, for they must be Actions out of the common Course, this must distinguish him above others; and these great Men think it is enough to be admir'd, without valuing whether it is for their Ignorance, or Wisdom, their Knavery or Honesty. He who aspires to the attaining of this glorious Title, must not only oppose his known Adversaries, but must also thwart and perplex those he pretends to espouse, even in Fundamental Points, though he runs the Hazard of overturning all their Designs, and actually ruins their Cause; for this convinces the ignorant that he acts without any private Views, and the poor Wretches are fully satisfy'd that all he does is directed by Honour and Conscience, and tends to the Benefit of his Country; whereas if the Hypocritical Mask were taken off, they would soon perceive the true Motives were Vanity, Ambition, and Selfishness. A notable Instance hereof we have lately had in a great Stickler, who after having long profess'd himself

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highly engag'd in an Interest, out of a conceited Humour, broke all the Measures he outwardly seem'd to promote, and is grown contemptible to all Parties. He has refus'd, as is said, to accept of Offers made him; but what other Reason can be assign'd for it, than that he thought the Rate too small, and expected a greater Reward for so signal a Piece of Treachery? In short, they who desire to purchase, ought to know the Price the Seller sets upon himself; for though some are content to ascend from one Degree to another, there are others who think of nothing less than stepping up to the Top at once. Besides there are private Grudges, which furnish pretended Patriots with Opportunities of doing publick Mischiefs. If the Minister who is in a Station above them, has not comply'd with all their Desires, the whole Party must suffer for it; Revenge must be had, let it light where it will. The most haughty are ever the most Vindictive, as least capable of bearing any Opposition; whether right or wrong, their spleen must be vented, and if it cannot reach him it is levelled at, as being too high seated, it may drop by the Way, and take Effect among the Croud of those who stand below, for
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Malice loves Mischief, for Mischiefs Sake. Mr. Dryden has given the true Character of a Patriot in these Lines.

*The People's Brave, the Politician's Tool;
Never was Patriot yet, but was a Fool.*

Can any Man read this, and know so little of this Nation as to ask, *What People, what Party, are here describ'd?* The Picture has been taken by the Life, so that it is almost impossible there should be any so unacquainted with them, as to require the Name to be added to it; but there are many who will not see or understand, and they must be told what they knew before. These People then have been formerly dignified and distinguish'd by the Stile and Title of **TORIES**, a Name of Contempt given them by their Adversaries, from the Robbers in *Ireland* so call'd; but, it has been one of their chief Acts of Prudence not to quarrel at the Name, but rather to admit of, and freely to embrace it. Of latter Years they have also been call'd **HIGH-FLYERS**, a Denomination they are extraordinary fond of, and which might be reputable enough, were their Practices suitable to their Pretences;

but since they are a Dishonour to the Name, it is in vain to imagine it can be any Advantage to them.

There have been *Tories* and *High-Flies* in all Ages, and more particularly among the *Jews*, who in their latter Ages distinguish'd them by the Name of *Zealots*. These were an hot-headed Race, without Sense, or Honesty, pretending to much Religion, and thereby leading away the Rabble to any Mischief, tho' their only Zeal was to raise themselves on the Ruins of others. These appear'd early in the Days of *Moses*, who being gone into the Mount to receive the Law, they not only abdicated him, but God himself, setting up the Golden Calf; for so hot was their Religious Zeal, that they would rather make them Gods than wait the Leisure of him that brought them out of *Egypt*. *Joab* was Head of the *Tories* under King *David*, a good General, and well deserving in some Respects, but so puffed up with his Merits, so conceited of the Strength of his Party, that he would bear no Competitor, and at length grew weary of his Sovereign, and presum'd to proclaim another King, whilst he was yet living. The *Israelites* address'd King *Rehoboam*, like true *Tories*, with the greatest Protestati-

ons of Loyalty ; but as soon as he displeas'd them, they declar'd they had no Portion in the House of *David*, and set up *Jeroboam* : nor were they more steady under their own Creatures ; for *Baasha* setting up for a *High-Flyer*, drew all the People after him, and destroy'd all the Race of *Jeroboam*. *Zimri* playing the *Tory*, cut off the Son of *Baasha*, and all his Family. It would be too tedious to run through the Kings of *Israel* ; but among those of *Judah* we find *Joash* set up by the High Party in Zeal for Religion, and by that same Party was he in the End found murder'd in his Bed.

Let us leave the *Jews*, since every Nation, as well as every Age, has produc'd it's *Tories*, and let us return to our own, and within less than a Century. It cannot be said but that the *Tories* have been sometimes in the Right as well as in the Wrong, but whether so often or no, it is not worth while to controvert. By being in the Right is meant their espousing the Right side, which is necessary to be explain'd, for even when they did so, they behav'd themselves so awkwardly, that they only then seem'd to be consistent with themselves, that is, to profess one thing, and to act the contrary, which is their constant Practice, and

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to be entirely depended on by such as have to do with them; so that when they make the greatest Protestations of Friendship they are to be kept at the greatest Distance, or else not to be rely'd on; for either they then design the ruin of the Person they caress and embrace, or if they do not design it, will nevertheless bring it about by their want of Courage, or of Prudence, or of Application, or else by their overmuch Selfishness, or Ambition, or Pride, or Avarice, or Affection to drinking, rather than attending the most earnest Business.

To give them their due, they suffer'd much for King *Charles* the First, and he may be said to have suffer'd all for them; for had any other sort of People been engag'd in his Quarrel he could never have miscarry'd as he did. What other Monarch, supported by such numerous Armies, and attended with so many Successes, would have been undone, as he was, and lost not only his Crown, but his Life? And what is this to be ascrib'd to, but to the Treachery, the Unsteadiness, and the Debauchery of many about him, and those were *Tories*, who acting like themselves were ever pulling
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ing down that Monarch whom they pretended to support.

When King *Charles* the First had drawn together an Army at the beginning of the Rebellion in the Year 1639, and was advanc'd as far as *Berwick*, to suppress the *Scots*, being much superior to them, his own *Tories* disarm'd him, advising a Treaty with those Rebels, whom he might have easily subdu'd, and by that means have put an End to all the ensuing Calamities. Then did those *Tories* betray him, being outwitted by the Insinuations of his Enemies, and thus that mighty Preparation came to nothing; and from that Day may be dated the Ruin of that unfortunate Prince, brought on him by those his pretended Friends. Another vile Act was committed by the *Tory* Secretary *Windebank*, in sending Orders not to protect the *Spanish* Fleet in the *Downs*, as ought to have been done, that Place being look'd upon as a Port of *England*, by which means the *Spaniards* lost many Ships, and the King his Reputation.

When the King had broken the Rebels at *Edge-Hill*, none but his own *Tories* dissuaded him from marching directly into *London*, which was a second
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favourable Opportunity for putting an End to the War at once, as would have been done by entering the City ; whence the Parliament Army was immediately after recruited, and his Majesty prevail'd on to march away, rather than with a Victorious Army to ingage those raw Troops rais'd in a tumultuary Manner ; which though they afterwards prov'd reolute, when disciplin'd, at that time scarce knew how to use their Arms.

There is no pretending to mention all the gross Blunders committed in that War, whether they proceeded from want of Judgment, or Treachery in the Advisers ; but certain it is that never so little was made of so many Successes as Fortune seem'd of her own accord to favour the Royal Party with at several Times, whilst they continu'd to cast all away, being ever divided among themselves, and the designing Party always prevailing above the most sincere. But what Sincerity was there to be found when even the greatest Sticklers for the King were as jealous of his Power, as those that were in Arms against him, which made them ever put him upon fruitless Treaties, when he had the full Power of the Sword, thereby giving the
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Rebels time to breath, and to recruit their broken Armies. This was a true *Tory* Spirit to gain him a Victory by fighting, that they might be rais'd above their Enemies, and to betray him in their Council, that he might never be too high exalted above them. Such were their Politicks throughout the whole Course of the War, which not only protracted, but brought it to so dismal a Conclusion.

Which of the then *Tories* did not at first put an helping Hand to blow up the Flame of Rebellion, though they afterwards fell off! It cannot be deny'd but that the famous *Mr. Hide*, *Sir Dudley Diggs*, *Sir John Elliot*, *Sir Tho. Wentworth*, and many more of the same Stamp were *High-Flyers*, yet none perplexed the King more than they in the House of Commons, till either bought off, or diverted by some other means from persisting in their pernicious Methods. Duke *Hamilton*, and the Earl of *Holland* are cry'd up as Martyrs for Loyalty, and consequently will not be rejected by the *Tories*; but if their Lives be examin'd, there will nothing be found but a continual Series of Selfishness, Pride, and Unsteadiness, not to give them the Names of

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Treachery and Baseness. Loyalty was the Cry on both Sides, the one pretended to fight for the King and Parliament, whilst they levell'd all their Weapons at him; the other fought for the King indeed, opposing his Enemies in open Field, but rendering him odious by their Speeches and Practices, and destroying by their Advice what they gain'd with their Swords. Some commenc'd *Whigs*, and upon peculiar Motives became *Tories*, others cast off their *Tory* Notions, and declar'd themselves *Whigs*, whilst a very considerable Number were all the while *Trimmers*, or in plain *English* Traitors, either pretending to serve his Majesty, and being Spies for the Parliament, or else ever inclining to the Party which was uppermost.

It is not hence to be inferr'd, that the King had no true Friends, he had certainly very many, otherwise he could never have carry'd on the War so long, have withstood the Torrent of his Enemies in the Field, and disappointed the wicked Designs of his Domestick Traitors. If we look into the West, what considerable Officer shall we find commanding in those Parts, who did not more Mischief to the King by plundering,

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ing, and Debauchery, than he did Service otherwise in his Post, excepting only the Lord *Hopton*, a Gentleman of true worth, whose Name as being so singular for his undaunted Bravery, and incorrupted Fidelity, ought to be particularly transmitted to Posterity with the utmost Marks of Honour. There were many more it must be granted, who shew'd personal Valour enough in the Cause; but they serv'd themselves more than the King, they respected neither Honour nor Conscience, made Interest and Pleasure their only Aim, and made themselves more dreadful by their Extortions and Lewdness than by their Arms. The Marquess of *Newcastle* was the Honour of the North, an unbias'd and disinterested Nobleman, always acting upon Heroick and Christian Principles, and succeeding accordingly had he been regarded as he deserv'd, but it was impossible for him to withstand the King's ill Fate, which prompted his Majesty ever to raise those highest who were to do him the least Service. Thus Prince *Rupert* was sent to relieve, or rather to ruin him, as he did by losing the Battel at *Marston Moor*, when, would he but have been advis'd by the Marquess, he

might have utterly cut off the Rebels in the North without any Hazard, and given the finishing Stroke to the whole War: I shall not pretend to give an Account of that Prince, every Man who reads the History of that Rebellion may discover, whether his Services did not much contribute towards the Overthrow of the Royal Cause, and whether he did not altogether act upon *Tory* Principles.

Scotland also afforded one brave Man, *Montrose*, a true Convert from a dangerous *Malecontent*, not to a *Tory*, for that would have been a very inconsiderable Alteration, but, to a most Consummate and Heroick Loyalist. What Wonders did not he perform, whilst left to act according to his own Genius and Conduct? But when he had almost retriev'd the King's Affairs in those Northern Parts, then the *Tories* joyn'd with the Rebels, in persuading the King to disarm him, and so leave himself entirely to the Mercy of his Enemies.

When his Majesty afterwards attempted to make his Escape from *Hampton-Court*, tho' it has been industriously conceal'd by that Party, there is very good Ground to believe that he was betray'd
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by his *Tory* pretended Friends, as may be seen in the third Volume in Folio, of *Clarendon's History*, p. 61. There is no Question, but that his Enemies knew of the Design before it was put in Execution; for it was publickly talk'd among them, that he would soon be in the *Isle of Wight*, and they were willing to let him fly thither, the better to carry on their own Projects. But all the Treason did not consist in revealing his Intentions, the blackest part of the Treason was those *Tories* advising him not to depart the Kingdom, as he had design'd, which would at least have sav'd his Life, and might have been a means for recovering his Crown. Those things were not suitable to what the *Judas*es had contriv'd, they would not consent he should go to any other Place, than the *Isle of Wight*, where was a Governor they had great Confidence in, Colonel *Hammond*, Brother to the King's Chaplain of that Name. That Colonel playing the *Tory*, made a scruple of ingaging for his Majesty's Liberty, but solemnly undertook for his Security, according to the double meaning of those People, which was that he should be secur'd from making another Escape, but he safely deliver'd him
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up to the Slaughter : Of those *Tory* Gentlemen betraying him, the Proof is only Circumstantial, because the Rebels, as has been said, knew before Hand that he would fly, and that it would be to the *Isle of Wight* ; yet is this Circumstance so strong against them, that nothing but their own Confession, which could not be expected, would have been a greater Demonstration. For their advising him not to depart the Kingdom, we have the King's own Word, declaring to the Parliament to this Effect, *That if those Gentlemen were taken and punish'd as evil Doers, for counselling him not to go out of the Kingdom, but rather to come to the Place where he then was, and for their Endeavours in attending him thither, he could not expect but to be dealt with accordingly.* This is a Testimony of the Advice beyond all Exception and little less of the Treachery, it being most certain that there could be no honest meaning in obstructing his Escape into foreign Parts, where his Life had been safe beyond Contradiction, and perswading him to fly from one Part to another of the same *Rebellious Army.*

What

What can be said for that great Historian, who attended the King in his Exile, and receiv'd the greatest Recompence at his Restauration, and yet in his History is so free of his Encomiums on the greatest Rebels, and at the same time so sparing towards all the most signal Loyalists. He is much extoll'd for his Characters, which it must be own'd are very fine, were they as true ; but he often bestows them on Men whom he in their Actions represents quite different. This having been so great a Chief of *Tories*, and *High-Flyers*, it will not be improper to be somewhat particular in giving a few Instances to show how true a Member he was of that Body, in being inconsistent with himself, in dishonouring the Side he pretended to take, and extolling those he would be thought to have looked upon as Enemies. It must be confess'd he bestows some Commendations on King *Charles* the First, but soon after says so much of him as quite Destroys the Character he has given him. He blames him for dissolving of Parliaments, to rescue his faithful Servants from Impeachments, alledging *pag. 7.* of the first *Vol.* of the *Folio* Edition, That no Innocent Man, who made his Defence, ever
suffer'd

suffer'd in those Days, by Judgment of Parliament, and yet *pag.* 20. He says, the Earl of *Middlesex*, notwithstanding the good Defence he made, and that he was absolv'd from any notorious Crime, in the impartial Opinion of many, was at last condemn'd to a great Fine, to a long and strict Imprisonment, and never to sit in Parliament, which he farther informs us was never before done to any Peer, but by *Attainder*. How can this Vindication of those Parliaments consist with an Innocent Peer's being thus treated? But how could he forget the Earl of *Strafford* put to Death by Act of Parliament, for want of legal Conviction, when every Man must be allowed Innocent, and is so in the Eye of the Law, till legally convicted; but to say, and unsay is true *Toryism*. *Pag.* 106. He calls the House of Commons most Dutiful, and in the same Place shows their whole Aim was thwarting of the King. *Pag.* 116, and 117. He rails violently against *Papists*, laying two heinous Crimes to their Charge, the first, the Exercise of their Religion; the second, much more heinous, the collecting of Money among themselves to present the King, in the Distress he was reduc'd
to

to by the War against the *Scots*, and his most Dutiful Commons refusing him any Supplies. I cannot believe but that when the Author was abroad he could often dispense with himself to make Use of *Popish* Money, when offer'd him; and am satisfi'd he was no more grateful to those who supply'd him, than to the others who endeavour'd to support his Master; for Ingratitude is a peculiar Virtue among *Tories*. *Pag.* 305. He tells us *Sir John Hotham*, was very well affected to the Government, both in Church and State. I would gladly know of him how then that worthy Gentleman came to shut out his Sovereign at *Hull*, which much contributed to his Ruin, and how he came to subvert that Church he was so well affected to. *Pag.* 397. he again highly extols *Sir John Hotham*, but then *Pag.* 536. mentions his Insolencies in burning and drowning the Country, threatening and abusing the King's Servant, who went to *Hull* for his Wine and Provisions, and Imprisoning Gentlemen going to the King, &c. but enough of him. *Pag.* 515. He says it will be wonder'd at, that so many Members of both Houses as resorted to the King at *York*, did not rather stay with

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the

Houses to oppose their illegal violent Proceedings ; whereas in many Places before he shows that such as dissented from the Rebels upon any Occasion were in imminent Danger of their Lives, and had no other Recourse at last to secure them, but by Flight. These are shameful Contradictions, but he is full of them throughout. *Vol. 1. p. 157, and 158,* we are solemnly told the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Pembroke*, never intended the Rebellion, yet it is visible throughout the History that none were more hot and vigorous in promoting and carrying of it on than those two Persons. *Pag. 158, and 159,* this worthy Author tells us, the Earl of *Essex* abhor'd Rebellion, tho' all the World knows he was the first General against the King, and commanded against him till his Forces were shamefully disarm'd in *Cornwall*, so that if he were not in Rebellion, certainly those who acted against him were, since both Sides could not be in the Right at the same Time. One more Instance of this Author's *Tory* Sincerity, and then he will leave that, which might make an History of itself. *Pag. 160,* the Earl of *Manchester*, before famous by the Name of Lord *Kimbolton*, under which he was one of the

the chief Promoters of the Rebellion, and blew it up to the King's Destruction, is by this great writer Characteris'd, as a Man who had a Reverence and Affection for the King, and was as much addicted to the Service of the Court as he ought to be, and that his good Nature still remain'd in its Integrity. Good God: How could a Man of Sense be guilty of such Absurdities? One of the first that blew up, and ever after stuck close to the Rebellion thus represented. If that Man did his Duty, he who asserts it must have been much in the Wrong in abandoning that Party.

Having before in general hinted something of the base Behaviour of many of K. Charles's Tory Officers in the Field, it will not be improper to descend to some Particulars, all taken from the E. of *Clarendon's* History, who being of the same Party must be the less suspected to have misrepresented them, and as the Darling Author of the *Tories* cannot be excepted against by them. *Sir Richard Greenville*, one cry'd up to the Skies for his Loyalty, the Earl of *Clarendon*, Vol. 2. pag. 414, Informs us, us'd barbarous Cruelty towards the *Irish* in *Ireland*; Pag. 416, that he dealt falsely with the King, in

several Parts of the 9th Book, that tho' he serv'd the King throughout the War, he was negligent in his Affairs, too full of Ambition and Coverousness, oppressing the Cuntry, and extorting Money, by which means he did his Majesty great Disservice ; *Pag.* 512, more of his ill Practices ; *Pag.* 516, that he hang'd an Innocent Man out of Revenge ; *Pag.* 518 and 519, his vile Reflections about serving upon his own Estate, when he had none but what the King gave him, whom besides he cheated of the Contributions, plunder'd and robb'd the Country, and hang'd many Innocent Persons ; *Pag.* 542, the same *Greenville* made mad Proposals, quitted his Post contrary to Command, ran back into *Cornwall*, and there render'd the King's Forces odious ; traiterously advis'd the Prince to make a shameful Agreement with the Rebels, and forsake his Father, and stir'd up the Governor of *Pendennis* against the Prince ; *Pag.* 543, stir'd up the Gentry of *Cornwall*, against the Prince ; *Pag.* 560, his Insolence in refusing to command all the Foot, under the Lord *Hopton*, General, when he himself had advis'd making of him so. This was a *Tory* with a Witness, let us proceed to some others.

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The Lord *Goring* is no less renown'd every Way, *Pag.* 427 and 428, afford a very ill Character of him ; the 9th Book in several Places gives the same Account of him as above-mention'd in speaking of *Sir Richard Greenville*, as to Negligence, Ambition, Avarice, Oppression and Extortion ; *Pag.* 511, 512, and 516, more of his base Behaviour, with his Rout ; *pag.* 529, his insolent Demands of the Prince ; *pag.* 529, more Brutality, and being order'd by the King to joyn him with his Horse, instead of it basely goes away into *France* ; *pag.* 537, to 540, he resolves to carry away the King's Horse, from his Service, with much more Villany put together, showing him both Traytor and Coward.

Pag. 427 and 428, a very ill Character of the much celebrated Lord *Wilmot* ; *pag.* 526, it is said of General *Gerard*, afterwards Earl of *Maclesfield*, than as great *Tory* as the rest, that he disoblig'd the People in *Wales*, by his base Proceeding, and did the King much harm. Another not inferior to him was the Lord *Wentworth*, of whom our Author says, *pag.* 547 and 548, that he basely obstructed the King's Service by his Pride of Command or Treachery ; and keeping
no

no Guards or Discipline, many of his Horse were routed by small Parties of the Enemy, and he basely ran away, magnifying the Loss more than it was, so that it may be doubted, whether he did not betray his Horse. *Pag. 551 and 552,* it is said of the Lord *Digby*, one sufficiently cry'd up for a *Tory*, that apprehending to meet Prince *Rupert*, he advis'd the King to go to *Newark*, instead of *Worcester*, tho' prejudicial to his Service, and *pag. 554,* that being at the Head of 1500 Horse in the North, he cowardly shipp'd himself off to the *Isle of Man*, and thence into *Ireland*, leaving those poor Men to shift, when there was Probability enough that they might have return'd safe to the King at *Newark*. *Pag. 556,* great Insolence of Prince *Rupert*, Prince *Maurice*, Sir *Richard Wallis*, and the Lord *Gerard* towards the King, the three first of them with 24 Officers Mutiny and Desert the King.

Vol. 3. pag. 107, and in other Places, Colonel *Bamfield* shown to have been a turbulent Mischievous Man to the King, whom he pretended to serve, and corrupted the Fleet that went over to him. You have here a Parcel of glorious *Tories* and *High-Flyers* acting in all Things like themselves,

themselves, that is professing Loyalty and practising the Reverse.

But enough has been said of them in the unfortunate Reign of K. *Charles* the First, whom we have before shown to have been deliver'd by those very People into the Hands of his profess'd Enemies, who put an End to his Sufferings with his Life. To proceed to the Behaviour of these People under his Son and Successor K. *Charles* the Second, his little Court abroad was no better fill'd than his Father's had been at home, those *Tories* who follow'd his Fortune, always labour'd rather to mend their own than his. Nothing was to be seen there but Division, Envy, Selfishness, and Treachery. Some liv'd Luxuriously, whilst the King could scarce find Bread to feed his Family, as an Instance whereof the Earl of *Clarendon* Vol. 3. pag. 345, mentions the Lord *Fermin*, of whom he says, that he liv'd riotously at *Paris*, whilst the King and most of his Friends wanted Necessaries, and what he spent was the King's. Pag. 406, our Author tells us, that Prince *Rupert*, in *France*, defrauded the King, in his Distress, of all the Money he made by several considerable Prizes; besides many base Actions of his
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in other Places. Others went to the Courts of Princes, to excite their Generosity to relieve a Monarch reduc'd to such Necessities, and squander'd those Sums of Money they receiv'd, or made Banks for themselves of what was given for the Support of their Master. Others were Grumbletonians finding Faults in all that were truly honest, and not suffering his Majesty himself to escape their Censures.

Manning, the Son of one, and himself a *Tory*, not satisfy'd with the best Provision his Sovereign was able to make for him, when many better Men were starving, kept a constant Correspondence with the Usurper *Oliver Cromwell*, constantly disclosing to him all the King's Secrets, till happily discover'd and rewarded as he deserv'd.

In *Scotland*, the Earl of *Clarendon*, Vol. 3. pag. 307, tells us, the Duke of *Buckingham*, finding the King's Cabinet open, basely betray'd his Councils to *Argyle*; and pag. 316, gives an Account of his insolent Behaviour towards the King in *England*.

Glorious *Tories*, how will all these things, set in a true Light, redound to their Honour, espousing the King's Quarrel on the
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the one Hand, and on the other insulting him, oppressing his good Subjects, defaming his Cause, and betraying him to his Enemies. Whosoever they pretend to support must fall, for there is no Sincerity in their Protestations, no Sense in their Politicks, no Bravery in their Undertakings. But they will claim the Merit of the Restauration, with as little Reason as they do a Title to Loyalty. To deal plainly, the Restauration was the Act of the same People, who first rais'd the Rebellion, the *High-Flyers* had neither Power, nor Sense enough to bring so great a Work to Perfection. The *Presbyterians* began the Rebellion, and carry'd it on till they had got the King into their Hands, which was bringing him to the Block; but were then outwitted by the *Independents*, who gave the fatal Stroke, and then mounting the Saddle, began to ride the *Presbyterians*, as unmercifully as they had rid the *Cavaliers*. Whilst *Cromwell* was on this Side the Grave, no Party had Art or Strength enough to overturn the new patch'd up Tyrannical Government, under the specious Title of a Commonwealth; but as soon as his Head was laid, and his insignificant Son *Richard* plac'd at the Helm,

the dismounted Party began to conceive fresh Hopes. The second Protector's Reign was short, the Rump reassum'd its lost Power. The Nation labouring under such Variety of misshapen Governments, all of them equally intolerable, began to awake out of the heavy Lethargy it had labour'd under for the Space of 20 Years, or rather to recover from that Frenzy which had made it tear it's own Flesh so unmercifully, till the very Bowels began to appear. In short, most Men perceiv'd that, none could heal their Evil, but a lawful King. Those who had usurp'd the Regal Authority had no Thoughts of parting with it tamely, they were too much taken with the Charms and Authority, and too fond of the Opportunity then in their Hands of dividing the Treasure of *Great Britain* among themselves. However, those who had begun the Rebellion, being, as was said above, now under the Hatches, they joyn with the Royalists, not for the King's Sake, but because there was no other way to deliver themselves out of Bondage. Accordingly *Sir Geo. Booth*, always a *Presbyterian*, made an Insurrection, as he call'd it, for the King, in *Cheshire*, but that Affair being ill manag'd,

nag'd, his Forces were soon defeated, and he sent Prisoner to the *Tower*.

What shall we say of General *Monk*, he carry'd the Honour, and the Profit of the Restoration, but how deservedly, has been always question'd by many. His Addresses, his Proteſtations, his ſolemn Ingagements to the Rump, are all interpreted by his Admirers as neceſſary Politick Frauds to deceive thoſe Rebels ; but if lying, and Perjury be commendable for carrying on a Cauſe, what is there left to diſtinguiſh Men by. It is a Chriſtian Maxim, not to do Evil, that good may come of it. *Monk* went thro' all the Blackeſt Part of the Rebellion, and was as deep in it under the ſeveral Governments as any Man ; he had erected to himſelf a ſort of Sovereignty in *Scotland*, whilſt *Cromwell* was every thing but King in *England* ; and thither he march'd after the Uſurper's Death, as many have thought, to try whether a Crown might not ſit as well upon his own, as upon the King's Head, till finding the Nation averſe to any more Intruders, and wholly bent upon the right-ful Sovereign, he thought fit to joyn with the Stronger Party, to make a Virtue of Neceſſity, and to raiſe himſelf into the

second Post, since the first was not to be had. Be these Things as they will, if the *Tories* claim him for one of them, they must take along with him his several Years Rebellion, his Faithless Ingagements, and all the other wicked Concomitants, which tho' natural enough to them, will not prove much for their Reputation. If, on the other Hand, they disown him on these Accounts, then must they yield up the Honour of having brought about the Restauration. Nor will it avail them to have recourse to the Parliament, since it is well known that the very same Parliament which had commenc'd and maintain'd the War against King *Charles* the First, being restor'd to all its Members by *Monk*, laid the main Foundation towards the Restauration by vacating several pretended Acts of the Rump, and dissolving themselves, after issuing of Writs for calling of a Free Parliament, and even that which met pursuant to the new Writs, and recall'd the King was mostly compos'd of Members who had been deeply engag'd in the War against the King, very few others being admitted; so that here is the same Dilemma against the *Tories*, as in

in the Case of General *Monk*, which is, that either the *Tories* must have been in Rebellion for several Years, or else they were not the Men that restor'd the King.

That being no legal Parliament, as summon'd by Writs from the former, without the King's Authority, it was therefore dissolv'd, and a new one met on the 8th of *May*, which continu'd many Years. This at first prov'd a very *Tory* Parliament, and according to the Custom of those People soon after cool'd, and by Degrees acted the very Reverse of their former Proceedings. At their first Meeting, they order'd the *Solemn League and Covenant* to be publickly burnt by the Hand of the Common Hangman; next in the Act of the 12th of *Car. 2. chap. 30.* it was declar'd, That *it is the Undoubted and Fundamental Law of this Kingdom, that neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People collectively or representatively, nor any other Person whatsoever, ever had, have, or ought to have any coercive Power, over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.* Then the Corporation Act 13, *Car. 2.* directs all Officers
to

to swear, *That they do believe; That it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever to take Arms against the King, The Militia Act 13 Car. 2.* obliging every Lord Lieutenant, Deputy Lieutenant, Officer and Soldier to the same Declaration, *That it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King.* Besides the Preamble of the same Act declares, *That both or either of the two Houses of Parliament, could not, nor lawfully might raise or levy any War offensive or defensive, against his Majesty, his Heirs, or lawful Successors.* Then by the Act of Association, *all Persons were engag'd to stand by and assist one another, against all his Majesty's Enemies, without any Limitation.* These were through pac'd Tory Acts and Declarations, we shall see what came of them.

The Parliament having set the Example, no Society in the Nation would be outdone by them; and accordingly there might be wonderful Instances brought of Tory Zeal in expressing themselves after the same Manner; but let us hear how the *High Flying* Clergy did it at several Times after. *Seth, Lord Bishop of Sarum,* in his Sermon preach'd before the King at *Whitehall, November 5. 1661.*
upon

upon *Rom. 13, 2. And they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation*, has the following Words. 'The Act of Resistance is set down absolutely, without any Restraint, in respect of any Pretences, or Causes whatsoever. So that the Sense of the Words resolv'd by the Scriptures, is this; every Soul, which upon any Pretence whatsoever, in any Manner whatsoever, shall resist the lawful Authority that is over him shall receive to himself Damnation, that is, he puts himself thereby into a State of Damnation.

That Pretence, that after a lawful Sovereign is establish'd; the Power still remains in the People (in the diffus'd Body of them, or their Representatives) to alter the Government as they please; it is in respect of Policy and Government, what the Sin against the Holy Ghost is to Religion.

The famous Dr. *Stillingfleet*, in his Sermon on the 30th of January 1662. No Inconvenience can be possibly so great on the Supposition of that unaccountable Power in Sovereign Princes, as the unavoidable Mischiefs of that Hypothesis, which Places all Power originally in the People, and notwithstanding

' standing all Oaths and Bonds whatfoe-
 ' ver to Obedience, gives them the
 ' Liberty to refume it when they please,
 ' which will always be when a Spirit of
 ' Faction and Sedition shall prevall
 ' among them. God, *Numb. 26, 9*, in-
 ' terprest striving againſt the Authority
 ' appointed by him, to be ſtriving againſt
 ' himſelf.— They who reſiſt, reſiſt an
 ' Ordinance of God, and they who do
 ' ſo, ſhall in the mildeſt Senſe receive a
 ' *ſevere Punishment* from him, let the
 ' Pretences be never ſo popular, the
 ' Perſons never ſo great and famous;
 ' nay, though they were of the great
 ' Council of the Nation, yet we ſee,
 ' God doth not abate of his Severity
 ' upon any of theſe Conſiderations.

' Dr. Patrick, Dean of Peterborough, in
 ' *Par. and Annot. on Eccl. pag. 221*,
 ' *Who may ſay unto the King, What doſt*
 ' *thou? i. e. firſt, who hath any Autho-*
 ' *rity to call him to an Account? As*
 ' *much as to ſay, none hath but God*
 ' *alone; according to that of an eminent*
 ' *Rabby, No Creature may Judge the King,*
 ' *but the Holy and Blessed God alone.* To
 ' allow the People (either collective or
 ' repreſentative) to have Power to do
 ' it, is to make them *Accuſers, Judges*
 ' and

‘ and *Executioners*, also in their own
 ‘ Cause, and that against their Sove-
 ‘ reign ; nor secondly can any Man
 ‘ safely attempt it, but he shall meet
 ‘ with Punishment, either here, or here-
 ‘ after, &c.

‘ *Dr. Towner* on the 5th Command-
 ‘ ment. Those Powers are to be look’d
 ‘ upon as ordain’d by God, which came
 ‘ to that Power they have, as without
 ‘ any Fraud or Violence, so by the
 ‘ ordinary Course of God’s Providence.
 ‘ — Upon which Account all those
 ‘ Powers must be look’d upon as or-
 ‘ dain’d by God, that either come to the
 ‘ Throne by a lineal Descent from for-
 ‘ mer Kings, where the Kingdom is
 ‘ Hereditary ; or by a free and uncon-
 ‘ strain’d Choice, where it is elective.
 ‘ *Part. 5. pag. 241.*

‘ The same *pag. 251.* Having advis’d
 ‘ Subjects if oppress’d either to fly, or to
 ‘ appeal to his own Courts of Judicature,
 ‘ adds, But if the Question be concern-
 ‘ ing resisting by Force of Arms, and so
 ‘ avoiding the Severity of the Prince ; so
 ‘ it is as certain both from Scripture and
 ‘ Reason, that we ought not to avoid
 ‘ it, but rather with all Readiness submit
 ‘ to the Strokes of it. *Pag. 253.* For tho’

' it be true that a Prince hath no Autho-
 ' rity to inflict an unjust Punishment, yet
 ' he is priviledg'd by the Place he holds
 ' under God, from being subjected un-
 ' to Man, and ought not therefore, by any
 ' Force, to be brought into Subjection to
 ' him

' Mr. *Scrivener*, Book 1. part. 1. Of
 ' the Original of Government. The
 ' Arguments to affirm, that the grosser
 ' Body of the People did first of all agree
 ' upon Government, and constitute their
 ' Rulers, are, 1. Irreligious. 2. Sacrile-
 ' gious and Impious. 3. Impossible. 4.
 ' Pestilential and Pernicious to Govern-
 ' ment.

' *Idem*, Of the Obligations between
 ' the Governors and Govern'd, pag. 103.
 ' ——— for better it were to take away
 ' one's Horse, or to ravish another Man's
 ' Wife, or to extort unjustly another's
 ' Estate, than to divest a Prince of his
 ' Right of Rule — because no Man's
 ' Estate, or any Thing that is his doth
 ' descend to him, or otherways become
 ' his by the like Divine Title, as the
 ' supreme Power, rightly posited and
 ' possess'd, doth to the Owner thereof;
 ' and therefore, this being more sacred,
 ' the

‘ the Invasion of this Right is much more
 ‘ wicked and unjust.

‘ Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop
 ‘ of Canterbury, in his Letter to the Lord
 ‘ Russel, June 20, 1683. In tender Com-
 ‘ passion of your Lordship’s Case, and
 ‘ from all good Will that one Man can
 ‘ bear to another, I do humbly offer to
 ‘ your Lordship’s deliberate Thoughts
 ‘ these following Considerations concern-
 ‘ ing the Point of Resistance, if our
 ‘ Religion and Rights should be in-
 ‘ vaded, 1. That the Christian Religion
 ‘ doth plainly forbid the Resistance of
 ‘ Authority. 2. That though our Re-
 ‘ ligion be establish’d by Law (which
 ‘ your Lordship Urges as a Difference
 ‘ between our Case, and that of the
 ‘ Primitive Christians) yet in the same
 ‘ Law, which establishes our Religion,
 ‘ it is declar’d, *That it is not lawful upon*
 ‘ *any Pretence whatsoever to take up Arms,*
 ‘ &c.

Dr. Moor, Sermon Heb. 10, 36. *All*
Resistance to the supreme Authority is un-
lawful. The same Divine quotes the
 Author of a Fast Day’s Work, with
 great Commendation, and among other
 Things these Words of his, speaking of
 the Rebellion against K. Charles the First,

O God? How many rebellious Oaths were there fram'd contrary to that one rightful Oath of Allegiance, every of which latter Oaths was direct and solemn Perjury.

Dr. Tenison, present Archbishop of Canterbury: The Creed of Mr. Hobs examin'd, 1670, p. 158. *There is no Tye so strong as that of Religion, which eternally bindeth a conscientious Subject in Allegiance to his Sovereign. Pag. 180. Wo to all the Princes upon Earth, if this Doctrine (of Resistance) be true, and become popular; if the Multitude believe this, the Prince not arm'd with the Scales of the Leviathan, that is, with irresistible Power, can never be safe from the Spears and Barbed Irons, which their Ambition and presum'd Interest will provide, and their Malice will sharpen, and their passionate Violence throw against him. If the Beast we speak of come to know its own Strength, it will never be manag'd.*

Dr. John Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of York, Sermon preach'd before the Lords, January 30, 1700. *In case it ever happens that we cannot with a safe Conscience obey (the supreme Civil Governors) there we are patiently to suffer the Penalty of our Disobedience; but by no means either to affront the Persons, or to disturb their Government,*

merment, by raising or partaking in any Tumult, or Insurrection, or Rebellion.

Dr. Gilbert Burnet, in his Vindication of the Authority, &c. of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 41. *These Words of St. Paul (in the 13th to the Romans) being at first address'd to the Romans, so also design'd by the Holy Ghost to be a Part of the Rule of all Christians, do prove, that Whoever hath the supreme Power, is to be submitted to, and never resisted.*

Then answering an Objection, and speaking of the Prince, he adds, p. 41, 42, *he is only accountable to God, whose Minister he is. And this must hold good except you give us good Ground to believe, that God hath given Authority to the Subjects to call him to Account for his Trust, but if that be not made appear, then he must be left to God, who did impower him, and therefore can only coerce him.*

It would be endless to quote all the Authorities of particular Divines, and this small Volume will not admit of any more ; but let us see what the Universities have said in their *Tory, High Flying Times.*

‘ From a printed Decree of the University of Oxford. The University of Oxon doth teach and defend, according
‘ to

‘ to the Cannon of Scripture, that Sub-
 ‘ jects upon no Account whatever, ought
 ‘ to resist their King, or Prince by Force
 ‘ of Arms; and that it is not lawful for
 ‘ the sake of Religion, or any other Cause
 ‘ whatsoever to take up Arms offensive,
 ‘ or defensive against their King or
 ‘ Prince.

‘ And in the *London Gazette*, *July*
 ‘ 26, 1637. In the Judgment and Decree
 ‘ of the University of *Oxford* pass’d in
 ‘ Convocation, *July 21*, 1683, concern-
 ‘ ing certain Propositions contain’d in
 ‘ divers Books and Writings, the fol-
 ‘ lowing were condemn’d, *viz.*

‘ Self Preservation is the Fundamental
 ‘ Law of Nature, and surperfedes the
 ‘ Obligation of all others, whenever they
 ‘ stand in Competition with it.

‘ The Doctrine of the Gospel concern-
 ‘ ing patient suffering of Injuries, is not
 ‘ inconsistent with violent resisting of the
 ‘ Higher Powers, in Case of Prefecution
 ‘ for Religion.

‘ There lies no Obligation upon Chri-
 ‘ stians to Passive Obedience, when the
 ‘ Prince Commands any thing against the
 ‘ Laws of our Country, and the Primi-
 ‘ tive Christians chose rather to dye than
 ‘ resist,

“ resist, because Christianity was not yet
 “ settled by the Laws of the Empire.

“ We Decree, Judge and Declare all
 “ and every of these Propositions to be
 “ *False, Seditious and Impious*, and to be
 “ *also Heretical and Blasphemous, Infamous*
 “ *to Christian Religion, and Destructive*
 “ of all Government in Church and
 “ State.

Having mention’d so much of the
 Univerſity of Oxford, it will be needleſs
 to add any more of them, beſides a few
 Words out of their Addreſs to K. James
 the Second, upon his Acceſſion to the
 Throne, viz. *We can never ſwerve from*
the Principles of our Inſtitution in this
Place, and our Religion by Law Eſtabliſh’d
in the Church of England, which indiſpenſi-
bly binds us to bear all Faith, and true Obe-
dience to our Sovereign without any Reſtri-
ction or Limitation.

Let us next proceed to the Univerſity
 of Cambridge in their Addreſs to King
 Charles the Second, upon his diſſolving
 the Oxford Parliament, of which take the
 following Lines. *We will ſtill believe and*
maintain that our King’s derive not their
Titles from the People, but from God, that
to him only they are accountable, that it be-
longs not to the Subjects, either to create or
cenſure,

censure, but to honour and obey their Sovereign, who comes to be so by a Fundamental Hereditary Right of Succession, which no Religion, no Law, or Forfeiture can alter or diminish.

How fulsome and wretched will all this appear, when we consider what follow'd. Give me leave here to borrow a few Lines from the History of Addresses, *Vol. 1. p. 94*, where reflecting on the Words above, of the *Oxford* Address, which may be applicable to all that has been said of this sort he goes on thus. ' But have a
' Care, don't do as was done in the
' Reign of Passive Obedience, and Non
' Resistance, make a Drug of it, broach
' it sparingly, steal upon us with a little
' of it now and then, and if you can, it
' may not be improper to convince us
' there ne'er was any such thing as a
' Revolution. — Because that will put
' us in Mind of Invitations of a Foreign
' Prince by Lords Spiritual as well as
' Temporal, of Preachers in Arms for
' the publick Liberty, of an Archbishop
' disposing of the Government of the
' Tower, contrary to the High Commis-
' sion, of his desiring another Prince
' to take the Administration upon him ;
' in short, of so many Things that it
' were

' were to be wish'd for the sake of
 ' Dr. *Haugh*, and *Magda'len* College, the
 ' Words *without any Restrictions and Li-*
 ' *mitation*: had been omitted. Now let us
 look back and see what became of that
High Flying Parliament, which made
 such lofty Declarations as have been
 mention'd above, in Favour of the Kings
 of *England*, and caus'd them to be con-
 firm'd with Oaths? That very Parlia-
 ment, the very same Men not many
 Years after forgot all these Protestations,
 oppos'd that same K *Charles* the Second,
 in all his Designs, would have brought
 him into a Plot against himself, refus'd
 him all Supplies, voted it criminal to
 lend him Money in his Wants, and first
 propos'd the excluding of his Brother from
 the Succession. Where were then all the
High Tory Flights? What a wonderful
 Change was this? What Party of Men,
 under any Denomination, throughout the
 Universe, except the *Tories* could pallel
 this Metamorphosis?

It is worth observing, that about this
 Time first came up the Name of *Tories*,
 though the same People as has been shown
 were long before in being under several
 Denominations; for it is not the Title
 which makes the Party, but the Identity

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of

of Principles and Practices, that is their ever professing, declaring, and swearing, what they never intended to perform.

But it may be perhaps imagin'd that the Clergy stuck closer to the Doctrine they had so earnestly inculcated. A great Mistake, the *High Flyers*, whether Clergy or Layity are steady only in one Point which is never to act as they speak? It is true they held to their Principles during the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, because he pleas'd them, went on in all their Methods, first scourg'd the Papists, and then the Dissenters, and in short did every Thing that was agreeable to their Temper, so that it was morally impossible for them to find Fault with him. But when King *James* the Second succeeded him, what did they not say, and do then? They play'd their proper Parts both in Words and Actions, vow'd and promis'd all Support, and Assistance, magnify'd their Principles of Loyalty, and Passive Obedience, lull'd him asleep with those specious Pretences, and at last tore off the Crown they had set upon his Head. Let them not say we are innocent, I am not here arguing the Legality of the Fact, in it self, whether lawful or unlawful to depose Kings; but let them
not

not say we are innocent, for since they allow'd him a Divine Right, since they taught it was their Duty to be submissive under Persecution, it was none of their Province to rise against him. They ought either to have said less, or not done so much. It was they and only they who dethron'd that Prince, they can lay no part of it upon the Dissenters, those People, tho' they afterwards did not oppose what was done, had no Hand in the doing of it. They were quiet and easy enough with the Indulgence the King had granted them, and might in all likelihood have continu'd so to the End, had not the *High Flyers* contriv'd to rid themselves of their *Jure Divino* Sovereign. The Seven Bishops, afterwards some time dignify'd by the Name of the *Seven Golden Candlesticks* were the Ringleaders, they joyn'd with and encourag'd the Layity to invite the Prince of *Orange* over. It was them that King *James* call'd *the Trumpetters of Rebellion*, as knowing them to be the Persons that had incens'd the Nation against him. How often had those good Men preach'd up Submission under the worst of Princes, even Infidels, Tyrants and Persecuters, and this under no less Penalty than Dam-

nation? But how did they Practise that Doctrine? Those very *Seven Golden Candlesticks* invited the Prince of *Orange* to come over with an Army. Those very Persons excited the Nobility and Gentry to rise in Arms in every Corner of the Nation. Those same Men fill'd the People's Heads with the Dangers of Popery and Slavery. Had this been done by those they rail at for asserting, that King's receive their Power from the People in Trust, and that they are answerable to the People for Male-Administration, there had been nothing to reproach them with, the Action had been suitable to the Doctrine; but from Men of Passive Obedience, it is such a Contradiction, as all the Art of *Toryism* can never reconcile. Let any Man set Divine Right, and Damnation to those who resist the Powers plac'd over them on the one Hand, and a foreign Army call'd in, and risings of Subjects in every part of the Nation encourag'd on the other, and then consider how near the Principle and Practice are ally'd. After this let any Man who has little Sense enough rely upon *Tory* Doctrines and Protestations. Whoever does, let him provide himself a retreat in Time, his Ruin is inevitable; when

when those Men fawn most upon him, it is time to fly, the Danger is then nearest at Hand, and not to be avoided. Let not that Prince who confides in *High Flyers*, rely on Friends, nay, not on his own Bowels, all will certainly abandon him, and he will find himself alone when he perhaps expected to be surrounded by Thousands ready to lay down their Lives at his Feet. No Favours, no Tyes of Blood will secure any to him.

But it will be objected, those pious Bishops, did not design to make the Prince of *Orange* King, they refus'd to take Oaths to him, and lost their Bishopricks. A wretched Defence. Who would have thought it, is the excuse of Fools, and whether a Prince be undone by the Folly or the Knavery of those he Trusts is much alike to him, when he is undone. However, this makes good what was said of them at first, that they have neither Sense nor Honesty enough to support their Party. The Bishops invited the Prince, they did not design he should be King, he prov'd so, then they own they could not with all their Eyes see as much as every other Man plainly could have foreseen with half an Eye. That they were outwitted is visible enough

nough, that will not, however, make for the Reputation of their Intellectuals. But was their Design they talk of ever the better? It is granted their Intention was not to have the Prince of *Orange* Reign, the good Men had reserv'd that troublesome Employment for themselves and their Friends, the Prince according to their Scheme was only to have put King *James* into their Power, and then to have withdrawn again, upon their Orders, for they thought there was no Difference between calling of him in, and sending of him away. Then was King *James* to have been allow'd a good Pension, or Annunity to enable him to keep his Dogs and Horses, that he might ride a Fox-hunting as often as he pleas'd, being wholly eas'd of the Burden of Government, which those his faithful Friends were to take off his Shoulders, and to Administer at their Pleasure, and in his Name; for he might have been sometimes admitted into the Council Chamber, yet not so as to have any Influence, or Direction, but upon Occasion, to have set his Hand to whatever was enjoyn'd him, and might have sav'd himself the Trouble of reading what he was to Sign, as most Men generally do, because approve,

prove, or not approve, Sign he must. Now for the Prince of *Orange* to consent to the spoiling of this fine Project, by accepting of the Crown so freely offer'd him by both Houses of Parliament, was what those godly *High Flyers* could never forgive, for having in thought erected themselves so many Petty Kings, they concluded it a sort of Treason to lay them aside, and set a real King over them. Hence sprung that sudden fit of Loyalty to King *James*, which they afterwards pretended to, and that mighty scruple of Conscience not to take Oaths to King *William*. To be plain a Popish King in whose Name they expected to Reign was much dearer to them than a Protestant King, who they knew would Reign himself. This is the true State of *Tory* Loyalty, and consequently this is what all Princes may expect from them, if ever they have the Power in their Hands.

Nor ought we to forget the two worthy Archbishops of *York*, who succeeded one another in that See. The first of them Dr. *Lamplugh*, was so full of Loyalty at that Time, that he fled from *Exeter*, when the Prince landed, as not yet knowing who might be uppermost; but as soon as the Prince came to St *James's*,
being

being convince'd how the World was like to go, he met his Highness there, and was one of those who address'd him to take upon him the Government of the Nation. Dr. *Sharp* was no less High, yet it is well known how much his Sermons and Actions contributed towards the Revolution; however, he would not depart from his Doctrine, whatsoever his Practice had been, for in his Sermon preach'd before the Lords on the 30th of Jan. 1700. besides what has been said above of him, he tells them, *That there is such a Submission due from all Subjects to the supreme Authority of the Place where they live, as shall tie up their Hands from opposing or resisting it by Force, is evident from the very Nature and Ends of Political Society.* And again, *Subjects must obey passively, where they cannot actively.* Otherwise the Government would be precarious, and the publick Peace at the Mercy of every Malecontent, and a Door would be set open to all the Insurrections, Rebellions and Treasons in the World. Nor is this only a State Doctrine, but the Doctrine also of Jesus Christ, and that a necessary and indispensable one too; as sufficiently appears from those famous Words of St. Paul. Rom. 13, 1, 2. which are so plain

plain, that they need no Comment. So that as long as this Text stands in our Bibles, the Doctrine of Non Resistance, or Passive Obedience must be of Obligation to all Christians. Whoever reads this in another Age will be apt to say the good Prelate had not heard of K. James the Second, or at least been consenting to the opposing and abdicating of him, and yet all Men know how active and instrumental he was in it. He might have pretended to forget his former crying up the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, at the beginning of King James's Reign; but to revive it again after having so vigorously contributed towards dethroning of him, was very unaccountable.

Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, afterwards one of the Nonjuring Bishops above mention'd, was also one of those who address'd the Prince of Orange to take upon him the Government; but enough has been said of him as one of the Seven.

Nor were the Temporal Lords backward in that Point of Courtesy, I speak only of those, who were the Heads of the High Flyers, and some of them afterwards Nonjurors, and I defy their greatest Friends to name me one of them

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who

who was not concern'd, either in inviting over the Prince of *Orange*, or in making Application to him to take upon him the Government. This is no condemning, or laying any Imputation on the Revolution, we are here exposing the Inconsistency of *Tory* Principles and Practices, how little Confidence is to be repos'd in those People, who act so contrary to what they profess, and in short that no Prince can in Prudence have any regard for them, who either do not understand themselves, or else act contrary to the Dictates of their Conscience, upon every little Disgust.

We may properly apply to the *Tories*, what the famous Poet and Republican *Milton* formerly said of the *Presbyterians*, in his Pamphlet, Entitl'd, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. It is not here intended to justify that Pamphlet, or to make Use of any more of it, than is as pat for the People here spoken of, as if it had been directly written of them, the following Words are all *Milton's*, as quoted above, only instead of *Presbyterians*, we shall take the Liberty of inserting *Tories* or *High Flyers*, which the Reader being before acquainted with, will be no Imposition upon him, pag. 29.

‘ But

' But what need these Examples to
 ' *High Flyers*, I mean to those who now
 ' of late would seem so much to abhor
 ' deposing, when as they to all Christen-
 ' dom have given the latest and the live-
 ' liest Example of doing it themselves.
 ' I Question not the Lawfulness of raising
 ' War against a Tyrant in Defence of
 ' Religion, or Civil Liberty ; for no
 ' Protestant Church, from the first *Wal-*
 ' *denses* of *Lyons* and *Languedoc* to this
 ' Day, but have done it round and main-
 ' tain'd it lawful. But this I doubt not
 ' to affirm, that the *Tories*, who now so
 ' much condemn deposing, were all the
 ' Men themselves that depos'd the King,
 ' and cannot with all their shifting and
 ' relapsing, wash off the Guiltiness from
 ' their own Hands ; for they themselves
 ' by their late Doings have made it Guil-
 ' tiness, and turn'd their own warranta-
 ' ble Actions into Rebellion.

These are *Milton's* own Words, ex-
 cepting as has been said, the supplying
 the Name of *Presbyterians*, by that of
Tories and *High Flyers*, and had he been
 now living, there is no doubt but that he
 would have said the same of these last as
 he then did of the former. But let us pro-
 ceed to pag. 31.

' We know that King and Subject are
 ' Relatives, and Relatives have no longer
 ' being then in the Relation, the Relation
 ' between King and Subject can be no
 ' other than Regal Authority and Sub-
 ' jection. Hence I infer past their de-
 ' fending, that if the Subject, who is one
 ' Relative, takes away the Relation, of
 ' Force, he also takes away the other
 ' Relative ; but the *Tories* who were one
 ' Relative, that is to say, Subjects, have
 ' for these Seven Years. (*Milton says se-*
ven, speaking of the time the War lasted
against King Charles the First, the pre-
cise time is not material, the matter of
Fact is here insisted on) ' taken away the
 ' Relation, that is to say, the King's
 ' Authority, and their Subjection to it,
 ' therefore the *Tories*, for so many Years
 ' have remov'd and extinguish'd the o-
 ' ther Relative, that is to say the King,
 ' or to speak more in Brief, have depos'd
 ' him, not only by depriving him the
 ' Execution of his Authority, but by
 ' conferring it upon others. If then their
 ' Oaths of Subjection broken, new su-
 ' premacy obey'd, new Oaths and Co-
 ' venants taken, notwithstanding frivo-
 ' lous Evasions, have in plain Terms
 ' unking'd the King, much more than
 has

' has their War not depos'd him only,
 ' but outlaw'd him, and defy'd him as
 ' an Alien, a Rebel to Law, and Enemy
 ' to the State. (*For the War Milton*
speaks of, we may well substitute the War in
Ireland, in which all the Tories or the
greatest Part of them unanimously joy'd
against King James, as well as their cal-
ling over an Army, and their appearing
in Arms here against him, but let us go
on with Milton.) ' It must needs be
 ' clear to any Man not averse from Rea-
 ' son, that Hostility and Subjection are
 ' two direct and positive Contraries; and
 ' can no more in one Subject stand toge-
 ' ther, than one Person, at the same time,
 ' can be in two remote Places. Against
 ' whom then the Subject is in Act of Ho-
 ' stility, we may be confident that to him
 ' he is in no Subjection, for they can by no
 ' means consist together; to him the
 ' King can be not only no King, but an
 ' Enemy. So that from hence we shall
 ' not need dispute, whether they have
 ' depos'd him, or what they have de-
 ' faulted towards him as no King, but show
 ' manifestly how much they have done
 ' towards the killing him. Have they
 ' not levy'd all these Wars against him,
 ' (*they would doubtless have fought in Eng-*
 ' land,

‘ land, *since they were in Arms, and did*
 ‘ *actually do it, what Milton mentions, in*
 ‘ Ireland) whether offensive or defensive,
 ‘ for Defence in War equally offends,
 ‘ and most prudently before Hand, and
 ‘ given Commission to slay, where they
 ‘ knew his Person could not be exempt
 ‘ from Danger : And if Chance or Flight
 ‘ had not sav’d him, how often had they
 ‘ kill’d him, directing their Artillery,
 ‘ without Blame or Prohibition to the
 ‘ very Place where they saw him stand.
 ‘ Have they not converted his Revenue
 ‘ to other Uses, and detain’d from him
 ‘ all Means of Livelyhood, so that for
 ‘ them long since he might have perish’d
 ‘ or have starv’d ? Have they not hunt-
 ‘ ed, and pursu’d him out of the King-
 ‘ dom with Sword and Fire, &c.

‘ Again *pag. 33.* How much better
 ‘ had it been, and more becoming an
 ‘ undaunted Virtue to have declar’d
 ‘ openly and boldly, whom and what
 ‘ Power the People were to hold supreme,
 ‘ as on the like Occasion Protestants have
 ‘ done before, — that they might go on
 ‘ upon a sure Foundation, and not with a
 ‘ ridling Covenant in their Mouths seem-
 ‘ ing to swear counter almost in the same
 ‘ Breath, Allegiance, and no Allegiance ;
 which

' which doubtless had drawn off all the
 ' Minds of sincere Men from siding with
 ' them, had they not discern'd their Acti-
 ' ons far more deposing him than their
 ' Words upholding him; which Words
 ' made now the Subject of cavillous In-
 ' terpretations, stood ever in the Cove-
 ' nant, by Judgment of the more dis-
 ' cerning sort, an Evidence of their Fear,
 ' not of their Fidelity.

Thus much out of *Milton*, as before
 quoted, spoken by him of the *Presbyteri-
 ans* of those Times, and answering in all
 Respects to the *Tories* of all Times, whose
 proving Destructive to all that have to do
 with them, like *Sejanus* his Horse, or the
 Gold of *Toulouse*, mention'd at the begin-
 ning of this Pamphlet, seems to have
 been sufficiently made out, in *K. Charles*
 the First, whom either their Folly, or
 their Treachery, or other base Behaviour
 brought to Destruction as has been suffi-
 ciently made out upon undeniable Testi-
 monies; in King *Charles* the Second, de-
 luded to the very Brink of the Precipice,
 and merely sav'd by his timely Forecast,
 or rather by a particular Providence; and
 lastly in King *James* the Second, impos'd
 upon by their false Promises, Protestati-
 ons, and pretended Principles, and at
 last

last undone by their own Contrivance for having acted, what they themselves had encourag'd and prompted him to do. If these be not Demonstrations, there are none such in Nature. It is easy to find Shifts and Evasions, and to pretend it is dark when we will not see; they may find Excuses, and shrow'd themselves under what vain Pretences they please; but let the impartial World Judge whether it be possible for them to wash away these Stains, which must remain indelible as long as History can perpetuate the Memory of past Transactions, and as long as their Name remains so long will the Reproach lye upon them, and the more because they are incorrigible.

It will be requisite next to show how those People behav'd themselves when they had got rid of King *James*. The House of Commons where *Tory* Notions were not very prevailing soon voted the Throne vacant, and that by Reason that the King, as they said, had abdicated, or was abdicated; be that as it would an Abdication it was voted. The House of Lords made Amendments, which were not allow'd of, there were still some Sparks of High Flying Principles, and very nice Debates ensu'd at a Conference between the Managers of both Houses; but

but about what? Not about the Substance, but the Shadow. All that mighty Controversy was to decide, whether the King had *Deserted*, or *Abdicated*. The *Jure Divino* Men, thought themselves oblig'd in Honour to say something, tho' it were to no purpose. The most Zealous were for the Prince of *Orange's* taking upon him the Administration of the Government, and for securing the Nation against the Return of King *James*, so that he was unanimously rejected by them all; yet that the *Tory* Spirit might not sink at once, they were willing to maintain a Controversy about the Words, when they had granted the Thing. The King was to be kept out by common Consent, then what Matter by what Name or Title? It had been voted by a Majority in the House of Lords, that

By the Constitution of the Government, the Monarchy is Hereditary, and not Elective.

That no Act of the King alone, can Bar or Destroy the Right of his Heirs to the Crown.

These were true *Tory* Votes, and accordingly after a few Hours Contest, they were dropp'd, and the *Abdication* and *Vacancy* of the Throne agreed to. The

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Majority which had been against *Abdication* was turn'd on the other Side, and what Wonder, when all the Dispute was about a Word, and so many fine Speeches made to acquaint the World with the true Signification of it. Good God ! That so much time should be spent in deciding that which every common Grammarian could have determin'd, when the Matter in Hand was the disposing of a Monarchy. Nothing but a *Tory* Principle could have occasion'd such Contention, King *James* was gone, they all agreed he should return no more, and the Prince of *Orange* was to be declar'd King, each particular was the Act and Deed of the *Tories*, then why so much Noise about Nothing, that is about empty Sounds ? If it must be told, it was to save the Appearances, it was impossible to reconcile their Protestations of standing by King *James* with their Lives and Fortunes, and their abandoning of him in Distress; their so much inculcated Principles of *Non Resistance*, with the Vote, of *securing the Nation against his Return*, which could not be done without Force ; therefore something must be said to cast Dust in the Eyes of the People, that they might not look

look too narrowly into their Behaviour ; and that they might again, upon Occasion reassume the same pretended Principles, and repeat the same vain Protestations, as Occasion should require, and to as little Purpose as they had done before.

The Bishop of *Ely* talk'd much at one of those Conferences, and it is to be believ'd, meant nothing, or else he did not talk as he meant. He gravely told them, *We have by another Vote declar'd, That it is inconsistent with our Laws, Liberties and Religion, to have a Papist to Rule over this Kingdom.* The Words *we have declar'd*, prove him to have been concurring in that Vote. It is not here pretended to censure that Vote, the Lords who voted and stood to it, and the Consequences of it, it is certain acted uniformly, and acted according to their Opinion. But for the Bishop to joyn in such a Vote, and yet afterwards to become a Nonjuror, and pretend to stand up for the King, he had renounc'd by his Vote, is no less than a Demonstration, that either he did not understand what he voted, or that he had some other Motive besides Conscience for not swearing to a Protestant King, when he had declar'd the Papist could not Reign

over him. It seems he had read *Grotius*, and in him had found, that there is a Distinction between *Right*, and the *Exercise of that Right*. His reading extended yet farther, he found that in *Portugal* King *Alfonso*, had been thrust into a Prison, and his Brother *Peter* having possess'd himself of the Government, had been so courteous as to leave his Brother the Title of King, whilst he enjoy'd the Advantages of that Dignity. Now we understand what the Bishop would have been at, he gave an Instance of what he thought should have been done in *England*, King *James* he would have had secur'd in some Castle in the *Isle of Wight*, *Barbadoes*, or any remoter Island, as King *Alfonso* was in the Island *Tercera*, or to prevent the Danger of his being rescu'd thence he might have been shut up at *Greenwich*, as King *Alfonso* afterwards was at *Sintra*, there he might have liv'd out his Days with the Title of King, but under the Circumstances of a common Criminal ; and having no Brother to exercise the Regal Power for him, the pious Prelate could have been well contented that the Prince of *Orañge* had then retir'd into *Holland*, and left the Administration of publick Affairs, and the disposing

posing of the Revenue of the Crown to him, and other worthy *Tories* : In which Case all had been according to his Law, and Conscience, the King retaining that Name, and the Right Reverend having the Power. Most of the remaining Part of his Speech is taken up with a Profound Exposition of the Word *Abdication*, well becoming so able a Divine, as if some Article of Faith had depended on it, and it were necessary to be well vers'd in the *Hebrew* Text for the understanding of it. We must not forget to take Notice of what in the same Speech he tells us concerning the *Original Compact*, in these Words. *We must sure think that meant of the Compact, that was made at the first Time when the Government was first instituted, and the Conditions that each Part of the Government should observe on their Part, of which this was the most Fundamental, That King, Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, should have the Power of making new Laws, and altering of old ones.* These Things from the Mouth of a *Whig*, would have sounded very natural and well, as Consonant to his avow'd Principles ; but for a *Jure Divino* Prelate to talk of the *Original Compact* is altogether Preposterous. How is it possible

possible for a King to hold his Crown immediately from God, and to be answerable to none but God, as the Bishop, and all his *Higb Flying* Brethren ever taught, and at the same Time to forfeit for himself according to the *Original Compact*, and to be adjudg'd so to have done by any Men of those pretended Principles. This shews how Consonant those Men are to themselves, and how little they believe of what they so vehemently Preach, and endeavour to inculcate, thus imposing on a Part of the unthinking Multitude, led by a blind Zeal, and an outward Appearance of Sanctity in such Teachers, who within harbour nothing but Ambition and Avarice. There is no Question to be made but that his Lordship of *Ely*, when he was afterwards depriv'd, would not have thought himself ever the better dealt with, if only the Revenue of his Bishoprick had been taken from him, and the empty Title continu'd, as he would have done by King *James*. The Right Reverend was too fond of Money to value the Right without the Profit. as appears by his skulking about, and living upon others for several Years, receiving Contributions from his Party to leave many
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Thousand Pounds to his Daughter, when he dy'd. But, *Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the Streets of Askelon, lest the Daughters of the Philistines rejoyce, lest the Daughters of the uncircumcis'd Triumph.*

There was much more Discourse of this Sort, it was not the peculiar Talent of the Bishop to be inconsistent with himself, some great Lay Men maintain'd the same Contradictions, some of them follow'd the Example of the Prelate, in declaring their Resolution to oppose King *James*, and yet afterwards refusing to acknowledge King *William*, others more prudently dropp'd their *Tory* Principles, when they perceiv'd them to be out of Date, and became whatsoever the Time and their Interest requir'd, facing about from *Tory* to *Whig*, and from *Whig* to *Tory* again, so as to be sometimes court-ed by each Party, and after contemn'd and slighted by both. Poor Souls, they were big with something at that critical Time, which they had not the Courage to be deliver'd of, so that all their mighty Efforts went away in Smoak, which produc'd nothing but Smoot and Stink.

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The renown'd Dean of *St. Paul's* was not inferior to any for a Political squeamish Conscience. He could not dispense with Oaths upon King *William's* first Accession to the Throne. King *James* had got an Army in *Ireland*, the Chance of War was uncertain, and the Doctor knew not which King might prevail. It was therefore the Part of Prudence to hold out some Time, a nice Conscience in Point of swearing, might have been worth a good Bishoprick, if King *James* had prevail'd ; but it prov'd otherwise, that unfortunate Prince was defeated at the *Boyne*, he fled back into *France*, and there was no more Prospect of his Return. How could a *Tory* Conscience hold out any longer? The Sword had cut the *Gordian* Knot, which held the Doctor, his Eyes were open'd at that Moment, perceiving that the imaginary Bishoprick was vanish'd, he lay'd hold of the Deanry. But it is not to be thought that the Doctor could of himself discover the Error he had been in ; he was beholding to his Wife for the most convincing Arguments, and what *High Flyer* could withstand such powerful Rhetorick sounding in his Ears not only by Day, but di-

disturbing his Sleep at Night in unseasonable Curtain Lectures.

If we proceed a little farther, when the *Tories* had contributed all their Power towards fixing *K. William* on the Throne, we shall find they made it their Business to contrive, he should not, if possible have a happy Day on it. No Parliament ever sat in which some of that Party were not complaining of Grievances, and railing at the Administration of the Government, nor was there any Interval between the Sessions, free from Multitudes of scurilous Pamphlets publish'd by some of those same People, to incense the Nation against that King, and all those he thought fit to employ.

Sir *J. K*—, who in the Reign of *K. James* us'd to carry a Musket to Church, to alarm the People, and stir them up against that Prince, being disappointed of the Advantages he had propos'd to himself under *K. William*, who knew too much of him to think him worth employing, never fail'd spitting his Venome, as long as that Monarch he had in his Station endeavour'd to seat on the Throne continu'd in it. The noisy *J H*— had been no less Zealous a Promoter of the Revolution, for which Service he

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had appointed himself the Forest or *Dean* as a Reward, and missing of that, which he could not but look upon as his due, since he had so Decreed it in his own Fancy, he became a common Disturber ever inveighing against all Proceedings, till his Mouth was stopp'd with a considerable Employment, where having much Money to tell, he knew no small Part would stick to his Fingers. Nothing less than the new Title of Inspector General could silence the eternal Babling and ever scribbling, Dr. D — t, what a Disturbance did he make with his Resumptions, *Tom Double*, and many more violent and senseless Pamphlets, and no End would have been of it till this Time, had not all the Miscarriages in Government, been at once rectify'd by placing him over the Customs.

King *William* being sensible how little Reason there was to repose any Confidence either in the Capacity, or Fidelity of the *Tories*, had taken Care for the most Part to remove them from all Places of Trust, and having carry'd on the Administration after that Manner himself, left it so to his Successor Queen *Anne*. Her Majesty continu'd in much the

the same Hands for several Years, for what Changes there happen'd may be said to have been only of particular Persons, and upon some peculiar Motives, but not of the Party. Her Majesty, who had been brought up in *High Flying* Principles could not but entertain some Kindness for the Professors of them, and as soon as an Opportunity presented, made known her Inclination, by displacing all her old Ministers, and raising to their Posts such as she thought more of her own Temper. We shall not presume, tho' many others have taken that Liberty, to descant upon any of her Majesty's Actions, it is enough to say in general, that she espous'd the *Tory* Party, had been taught their Principles, and acted according to them; being much pleas'd with the Notions of *Divine, Hereditary, Indefeasable Right* in herself, and forgetting how much she had been engag'd with that Party in carrying on the Revolution.

The Time came at last for the *Tory* Reign. Dr. S ———, a fiery *Tory*, preach'd a Sermon at St. Paul's on the 5th of November, 1709, which thro' some ill Management ensuing, set the

whole Nation into a Ferment, and overthrew all the then Ministry. The good Doctor having begun his Sermon with a notorious Falshood, sticks not afterwards at any thing, but Plunges thro' all, like a Man of Metal, cutting down all that are a Hair's Breadth below the Top of his lofty *High Flying* Notions. The Falshood here laid to his Charge is at the beginning of his Sermon, where talking of the Gun-Powder Plot, he says, *The Papists themselves are so far from denying, that they extol it with the highest Panegyricks.* Now it is a certain Rule, that the worst of Criminals ought not to be charg'd with more than they are guilty of; but above all the Pulpit ought to be sacred to Truth, and nothing to come from it, which might be the least suspected of Falshood. It is no less certain, that the Papists are so far from extolling the Gun-Powder-Plot, that they rather unanimously deny there was any such, and reject the whole upon Cecil, as a Contrivance of his to carry on his Designs, under the Noise of a Plot discover'd. This is known to all the World to be the Defence made by all Papists, and therefore it was scandalous in the
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Doctor to slander even the worst of Men. As for the rest of that Sermon, it has been so often dissected, that no more shall be said of it than what is absolutely necessary to shew the Ingenuity and Sincerity of the Preacher.

The Sermon gave great Offence to the Ministry and Parliament then sitting, in so much that the Commons were not satisfy'd with less than impeaching the Doctor before the House of Lords. In the first Article of his Impeachment he is charg'd with representing the necessary means us'd to bring about the Revolution as odious and unjustifiable. In the 12th Pag. of his Sermon he has these Words, *The great Security of our Government, and the very Pillar upon which it Stands, is founded upon the steady Belief of the Subject's Obligation to Absolute, and Unconditional Obedience to the Supreme Power in all Things lawful, and the utter Illegality of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever.* This he enforces from Scripture, and Presses the Point of dethroning as utterly illegal ; which being urg'd against him, as reflecting on the Revolution, what a miserable Shift has he to come off, but by urging that there was no Resistance so much as thought of, or de-

design'd at the Revolution, a Notion so ridiculous that all Men, but *Tories* must have blush'd at it, when it was still so fresh in the Memory of most Men, that an Army was brought over, and that the *Tories* rose in Arms, in all Parts of the Kingdom. To what End all that arming, and 14000 Men brought over, if no Resistance was intended? But nothing struck all that were present at this Tryal with so much Horror, or lost the Doctor more Friends, than his dreadful Asseveration as to his Thoughts, and the Intentions of his Heart, calling, *the Searcher of Hearts to Witness in the most solemn and most religious Manner, as he expected to be acquitted before God, and his Holy Angels, at that dreadful Tribunal before which their Lordships, and all the World were to appear, &c.* that he had no such Intentions, as he was charg'd with, whereas the Managers made it as plain as the Day, that he must either mean what they charg'd him with, or else he must have preach'd without Understanding himself, or having any meaning at all; for that Unconditional Non-Resistance, and the Revolution were incompatible; Hereditary Right without some other, Title could

could not consist with King *William's* Reigning before Queen *Anne*, the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, which the Doctor swore he was most ready to assert, and devoutly pray'd for, could not take Place before so many nearer in Blood in an indefeasible Descent ; and as General *Stanhope* very well observ'd, That to assert in general Terms the absolute Illegality of Resistance, on any Pretence whatsoever, must be understood by all impartial and thinking People to overthrow her Majesty's Title and Government ; since at the same Time that they screen'd themselves under the specious Notion of professing Absolute and Passive Obedience to the supreme Powers, they could not conceal their true Meaning ; that the true and real Object of their Darling Doctrines, such as *Jus Divinum* ; Non Resistance, the undefeasible, unalienable Hereditary Right, that the true Object of those Doctrines was a Prince on the other Side the Water. They could not otherways be consistent with themselves. Much more to the same Purpose the General urg'd, and all so home and plain that nothing of Moment could be alledg'd against it, which made the Doctor have Recourse to that solemn calling upon
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God to Witness as above, in such a Case, that even his own Friends could not believe him.

But to leave the Doctor, it cannot but be observ'd, what wretched Work those learned Gentlemen he had retain'd for his Council, made of it. Their Learning and Ability is not to be call'd in Question, where the Case could allow them to exert themselves ; but this being the reconciling of Contradictions it was impossible to gain Reputation. They were forc'd to shift between the Legality, and the Illegality of Resistance, to contrive where to Place the Doctor's supreme Power, and to make Words bear such odd Constructions as must make *Englishmen* never understand one another.

This Tryal, tho' it silenc'd the Doctor for three Years, open'd the Mouths of all the rest of the *Tory* Party, and put the whole Government into their Hands, or at least they fancy'd so. The former Ministers were remov'd a new Set succeeded, and the very Elections for Members of the House of Commons went so far on their Side, that whatsoever they propos'd was carry'd in the House with very little or no Opposition. Thus they seem'd

seem'd to have rivetted themselves above Danger of relapsing into their former Condition, and they according to their Custom despis'd their Adversaries, as if it had not been in the Power of Fate to shake their Foundation. But how uncertain are all Worldly Affairs ! Especially where there wants Prudence and Conduct. Fortune, mere Fortune had given all into their Hands, but it requir'd Management to secure what she bestow'd on them, and that they never understood. They could not see beyond their Noses, and accordingly they tumbled into the Pit. The least Forecaſt and Judgment might have establish'd them, they scorn'd to be wiser than their Party ever us'd to be, and may now Study in vain how to retrieve their Losses.

What wretched Work did they make whilst they were in their greatest Exaltation ? Every thing was manag'd as if they had been contriving and plotting to ruin themselves ; and it must be allow'd them they are dangerous Plotters, they never lay a Scheme for Mischief, but it Succeeds, and whether intended or not are sure to bring Destruction upon their best Friends, and upon themselves in the

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End. Death took Queen *Anne* out of their Hands, or it is more than probable she would have far'd no better under their Administration than her Father, Uncle and Grandfather had done. It is malicious to insinuate that they any way contributed towards shortning of her Days, even, as their Enemies give out, by teasing of her ; she had labour'd long enough under so many Infirmities, that it was a Wonder she held out so long, and there was no need of any other Helps to sink a Body so much weaken'd and overburden'd. Let us not lay any more on the *Tories* than is their due, they had not time enough to undo the Queen, and her Death is no way chargeable upon them.

It may perhaps be ask'd, what it was they did amiss during their Government, and it may be answer'd Nothing, because all they did was next to Nothing. Men can not be properly said to have done any thing, who did not so much as make any Provision to secure themselves, when all was at their Disposal. There was neither Courage or Conduct enough to go thro' with any thing, all that is done by Halves is nothing, and if ever they brought

brought a Thing to bear, they were sure to undo it again themselves. It is plain they had never Courage to make use of the Advantage they had gain'd over their Adversaries, who regardless of their Power talk'd, preach'd and printed against them with the same undaunted Courage as if the whole Administration had been in their Hands. Our *Tory* Heroes durst never encounter them, if ever they happened to take up a Printer, or Bookseller, they were sure to make nothing of it, and their Pusillanimity being known, it was an Encouragement to others to insult them. If an unhappy Author happened to write any thing in Favour of *High Flying* Notions, there was certainly a Flaw found in his Work, and he did not fail to suffer Persecution. Defending of them prov'd a Crime, railing at them was the Liberty of the Subject.

But these Gentlemen made a Peace. I will not pretend to controvert the Merit of that Action, too much has been already said of it. All that shall be here taken Notice of is, that since Treaties of Peace and Commence were solemnly sign'd and ratify'd those Treaties ought to have been observ'd. Had the Non Per-

formance lain on the Side of *France*, what a dismal Cry should we have had of Breach of Faith, besides much more fine Language both *Whigs* and *Tories* would have liberally bestow'd on that Monarch. The Case is now very different, Peace and Commerce are solemnly adjusted, by the *Tories*, *Whigs* exclaim against it, and who obstructs the Executioner? Those very *Tories*, who voted it a glorious Peace, and declar'd it impracticable to carry on the War. Was the Peace Glorious? Why then are not all the Articles observ'd? Was it dishonourable? Why then concluded! Unintelligible *Tories*, none ever more magnify'd the Peace than they, none ever could decry it more. The very Champions for it were the Men that bellow'd most against the Execution. It is their peculiar Privilege to say, and unsay, to do, and undo, and most peculiarlarly to undo all those who have any thing to do with them.

The History of the *White Staff* pretends to inform us that they were thwarted in all their Projects, by the suppos'd Author of that Pamphlet, at least the Hero of it. This they lay hold of as a mighty Handle to bring themselves off, and to

as little Purpose as all the rest they have to alledge. If they knew a False Brother four Years was Time enough to remove him; but there were neither Heads nor Hearts, all was talk, and little or no Action. Since mention is made of a false Brother, they may well be ask'd, which of them all was true to the Interest he espous'd? Every Man turn'd and winded as Interest or Passion sway'd. What a dismal Account have we in the Memoirs of *Scotland*, of the *Tories* of that Nation, and particularly of the great one design'd for the Extraordinary Embassy. The Author of that Book is as favourable to him as possible in his Character, and in labouring to excuse his Actions, but so much Falshood every where appears in them, that all the Rhetorick of *Demosthenes*, and *Tully* would be insufficient to give them a tolerable Gloss. What did the *Tory* Management produce in *Ireland*, but continual Strife and Confusion? A notable *High-Flyer* was sent over thither, who that he might not degenerate from his Party, dropp'd them, when they expected the greatest Matters from him, and fac'd about, yet did it so awkwardly as not to deserve the Thanks of those he went

over to, and is like to find but little Encouragement among them. They are wiser that to entrust their Secrets to such unsteady Heads. He may perhaps be tolerated some Time in a Post which has more of Show than Confidence ; but at length he may find the Treatment he has always deserv'd. His scandalous Correspondence with a Physician of Note, has been produc'd as Merit, tho' among Men of Honour nothing could appear more infamous, than to keep a Spy, upon the Life of the Person from whom he had receiv'd such Favours ; but this was not his first Act of that Kind.

If these be not Instances sufficient of the Inconsistency of the People here spoken of with themselves, and of their being fatally destructive to all who have any Dependence on them, there are more than enough still in Store to furnish Matter for another larger Pamphlet. These it is thought will satisfy all reasonable Persons, and very many may be of Opinion that half the evidence here produc'd might serve for a thorough Conviction. To conclude, we will borrow a few Lines from the Paper call'd *Atalantis Major*, given there as the Character of the People of that Island, but so exactly suitable

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to our *Tories* and *High Flyers*, that they seem to have been transplanted hither from the said Island, with the Words of that Author, this Description shall end, they are as follows.

‘ Their Diet is strong and luxurious,
 ‘ and their way of living in eating and
 ‘ drinking, is high, to an Excess.

‘ This makes them Cholerick, Envious,
 ‘ and above all Contentions, ever divided
 ‘ into Parties and Factions: They pur-
 ‘ sue their Feuds with the most Eager-
 ‘ ness imaginable in their Turns, commit
 ‘ all Kinds of Errors, &c.

‘ This Occasions much Heat, little
 ‘ Charity, and above all, they are by their
 ‘ own Confession of short Memories,
 ‘ partly as to Injuries, but especially as to
 ‘ Kindnesses, Services, and inherent Merit.
 ‘ Hence Gratitude is not the Party Virtue,
 ‘ nor is encouraging of Virtue any Branch
 ‘ of their Manufacture ; long Services a-
 ‘ mong them often meet with unjust Cen-
 ‘ sures ; overgrown Merit with necessary
 ‘ Contempt. He must be a bold Man that
 ‘ dares oblige them, he is sure to provoke
 ‘ them by it to use him very severely.

‘ If they are reduc’d to any extreme
 ‘ Distress, he must be weary of his Life,
 ‘ that attempts to rescue them from the

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‘ Danger ; he is as sure to dye for it, as
‘ they are sure to be unjust. It is natural
‘ to the Blood of the Race, if they are
‘ oblig’d beyond the Power of Payment,
‘ they presently hate, because they scorn
‘ to be in Debt. Hence also, Benefactors
‘ are the most abhorr’d People in the
‘ World, they walk always alone, for e-
‘ very Man keeps at a Distance from them.

‘ If a Man happens to be bound Ap-
‘ prentice to his own generous Spirit, and
‘ resolve to do them good, he must do it to
‘ God, to do it to them, is to work to the
‘ Devil ; he must be sure to run the Gaun-
‘ let, and bear the Lashes of Ten Thou-
‘ sand Tongues, the Reproach of all those
‘ he serves, and will dye unpity’d. If
‘ ever they do relent, if every they ac-
‘ knowledge Services, ’tis always after
‘ the Man is dead, that he may not un-
‘ braid them with it.

Thus far out of the *Atalantis Major* to
the purpose of these People, whom we
shall now leave to finish their own Ruin,
by being turbulent and unruly, when
they have no Power, and threatening those
who have got them at their Disposal,
whom they could not Manage when they
had them under.

F I N I S.